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The literal translation of wujirra is illuminating since it points to the sector of behaviour believed to be associated with spendthriftiness. Literally the term means a man who initiates many ceremonies and celebrations (wujir), and goes to a great many as a participant. So many, in fact, that this is a major occupation with him. As in many societies, Kanuri ceremonial participation validates an individual's membership in a relational network. Thus kin members who do not attend one another's ceremonies are "far kin" to each other. By going to many ceremonies a man may be trying to enter into and create many more relationships than he can actually afford. Since he does not have the material resources to sustain his mutual obligations with all these people, his behaviour is considered foolish and imprudent.

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Related to this kind of behaviour but somewhat different to it is the excessive giving of money to praise-singing drummer-entertainers for a few moments of publicly bought acclaim. One young civil servant in Maiduguri was strongly motivated by a desire for increased status. He related how he had become enraged at a dance one evening in the city because he had only one pound to give to the praise-singers (the informant's salary was £7.10.0 per month). He spent the pound very quickly and then other young men took over and gave money while he remained as an onlooker to the singing of his age-mate's praises. Before the evening was over he had spent fourteen pounds of government (N.A.) funds that he was carrying, in his desire to compete with the others for the services of the praise-singers. Praise-singers often attempt to shame people into giving more money than they can afford in order to have their praises sung longer and more loudly. Most informants consider consistent over-giving, in this respect, to be

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foolish, and call persons who behave this way wujirna. On the other hand, as Smith points out for the Hausa, the giving of money to praise-singers by wealthy and powerful men, or the maintenance of a personal band, which is customary for District Heads and the Shahu, is perfectly legitimate conduct and validates their high status. (1)

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The optimum use of wealth is described as kan. The kan kan (roughly the wisely generous man) is he who uses his wealth for his own benefit, and that of his family, friends and supporters. He does not have to go into debt to achieve his goal, for he is strong enough to know how to balance that which he has, against that which his social relationships require of him. Since there is always pressure from others for property use, and this is reinforced by a desire on the part of many individuals to give, in order that their status may be enhanced or raised, it takes a strong self-confident person, or a very wealthy one, to fit the ideal behaviour associated with the kan kan.

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The chief difficulty with the achievement of this ideal of balanced generosity is that there is an enormously greater number of people looking for benefactors in the society than there are benefactors with property surpluses who can absorb them, and satisfy their wants. Any man of any social rank whatever can always find a multitude of persons who would willingly become his tada or tada njima (his boy, his son, his loyal subordinate) and people of lower rank continually ask and beg others with more property to give it to them. They say to the higher status person, "You are rich," "You have many shirts", "You are powerful", "You have much food", and so on, and then finally, "Turo sha" (Give to

(1) See Smith, W.G. The Social Functions and Meaning of Hausa Praise-Singing, Africa, Vol. XXVII, no. 1, (January 1957) pp. 26-45.